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THE IMPLICATIONS FOR YUGOSLAV BORDERS
OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE YUGOSLAV STATE

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BY

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Austrian Federal Forces

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- treated minorities at home. Serbia is confronted with the wish of millions of Albanians not only to separate from the country but to join Albania. Bulgaria, Greece and Albania are in contention for parts or all of Macedonia, because of historical ties or of requests that result from modern movements of population. Those wishes and claims produce an atmosphere of tension and political unrest, which might conjure up the danger of a "Third Balkan War," followed by a chain reaction the extent of which nobody can predict.

USAWC MILITARY STUDY PROJECT PAPER

The Implications for Yugoslav Borders
of the Dissolution of the Yugoslav State

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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While Italian fascists demand the restitution of former Italian territory in the independent Republic of Slovenia, Austria complies with her southern border, valuing Slovenia as the buffer towards the turbulent Balkans. Hungary expressed her intention to help her minority in Serbia, and at the same time is looking across the border where the Serbo-Croatian civil war destroyed the order of the area established after World War II. Romania is a factor of insecurity in the region. While Romance speaking groups, closely related to the Romanians, live across the border, Romania has to deal with the discontent of ill-treated minorities at home. Serbia is confronted with the wish of millions of Albanians not only to separate from the country but to join Albania. Bulgaria, Greece and Albania are in contention for parts or all of Macedonia, because of historical ties or of requests that result from modern movements of population. Those wishes and claims produce an atmosphere of tension and political unrest, which might conjure up the danger of a "Third Balkan War", followed by a chain reaction the extent of which nobody can predict.

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PART 1.

I. Introduction

Yugoslavia, the creation of the Paris Peace Treaty, has fallen apart. The 1919 treaty gave birth to the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes;" 1991 saw the painful death of its successor, the SFRY.¹

When the European Community stated that "The SFRY was in a status of dissolution" in December 1991, Europe and the whole world had already been witnessing its disintegration of the Partisan State for six months and looked anxiously at the Balkan land, worried about possible border claims. Is this concern justified?

II. Border Claims

Learning from history, there are three major reasons why borders are changed. The first one is the unification of a nation, which does not happen very often in history. The unification of Germany in 1990 is a rare example. The secession of the Serbs of Croatia can be seen in this context, too, as far as they succeed in joining the Serbian homeland, and the same reason is driving the Albanians to separate from Serbia.²

Another reason is expulsion. A country that expels a nationality must be aware that those expelled do not gladly accept that they must leave their inherited places, whatever

reason given. Expulsion often interrupts a long-term ownership and is followed by a social change in the area. How long does it take a people to forget its country of origin? The German population was expelled from the Sudetenland in 1945, but they still gather at the Czech border every year, refuse reparations, and want to be reestablished. This expulsion is still a major impediment to peaceful cooperation in Central Europe. The Jewish people did not forget their homeland for almost two thousand years.

A third reason is expansion. The Americans expanded to the west and thus changed their borders until they met the Pacific. The Russians expanded through Siberia and pushed their border eastward to the Pacific coast.

These reasons for border changes often come in conflict with each other: for example, the Slovenes could want to unite with their relatives in Italy's Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, but at the same time, some Italians wish to get back Istria, whence 200,000 Italians were expelled after World War I. They did not live in Slovenia itself, but Slovenia holds the land access to the Istrian peninsula.

Hungarians might want to unite with their fellow Hungarians across the southern border, but the Serbs wish to keep Bacska and Banat. The interdigitated pattern of settlement makes the case even more complicated.

The Croats think they can hold on to their expanded territory on the Dalmatian coast and the Adriatic islands, where

people speak Croatian only after centuries of suppressing a population which spoke a Romance language. The Serbs used the Communist army to expand to the Adriatic coast, finding an excuse in uniting a few people speaking their language.

The Serbs who left Kosovo under Turkish persecution wish to retain the cradle of their culture, although the country is now 90 percent Albanian. The latter want to justify their medieval expansion by claiming to be the successors of the ancient Illyrians who had lived in Kosovo before the Serbs arrived. Claims for one people having been somewhere at some time can always be made, and the Balkans are full of such claims.

III. Thesis

Of Yugoslavia's seven land borders with neighboring states, only one seems immune from question or contestation. All of the others could turn into bones of contention as Yugoslavia disappears and Belgrade's authority contracts to Serbia alone.

Yugoslavia was an artificial contrivance since its birth at the close of World War I. It put together southern portions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (present day Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and the Vojvodina) with the areas that had freed themselves from the Ottoman Empire (Montenegro, Serbia and Macedonia). Preferences in international relations, political style, economical behavior, and animosities are determined by this historical affiliation.

After World War I, the 'Peace Treaty between the principal allied and associated powers and the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State' allowed 'Allied Commissions of Ambassadors' to determine the new borders in the Balkans or to sanction boundaries that had already been designed before the war'. Although these commissions took their task very seriously -- some of them stayed for many months in the concerned border regions -- the outcome was disappointing: borders were drawn that divided ethnic groups, cultural regions, geographical areas, and nations. Millions were expelled or left the new states because of the open animosity and racist attitude of government and people, often deprived of all human rights'. The end of World War I offered the opportunity to define national borders; but frontiers were drawn in Europe by the victorious powers, who were doing the same in Africa and the Middle East.

In 1929, it became obvious that the 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' was stillborn: the tyrannical king Alexander, supported by the Serbian army, erased the historical provinces from the map and divided the country into nine governments.' After the king was killed by a Croat extremist, Croatia got autonomy within Yugoslavia, and it showed that ruling such an heterogeneous cluster of nations and nationalities was too big and complex a burden for Serbia.

The attempt to revive Yugoslavia after World War II was bound to fail, but 45 years of post-war bipolar tension between the two opposing military pacts in Europe, veiled its disintegration. Once the Cold War ended, Yugoslavia fell apart.

Now many of the nationalities and ethnic groups that were forced to live in that state are becoming independent or at least expressing their desire to live free from Belgrade's tutelage and in some cases join their fellow-countrymen who dwell across the border. This brings up border claims by some neighboring states and desires for a revision of the boundaries drawn by the Ambassadors of the Allied Commissions in 1919. Therefore, border changes are inevitable in the Balkans.

P A R T 2

T h e B o r d e r s

I: The Austrian Border

The border between Austria and Slovenia is about 115 miles long. The eastern part of the border between the Austrian province of Styria in the north and 'Stajerska'* (eastern Slovenia) in the south also constitutes the boundary between the two most numerous Indoeuropean peoples, the Germanic group -- to which the German speaking Austrians belong -- and the Slavic group, of which the Slovenes are a minor part.'

The western part of the border between the Austrian province of Carinthia and 'Kranjska'* (western Slovenia) runs through the Slovene area of settlement, leaving some 8,000 Slovene families in Austria, whose rights are guaranteed by the Austrian State

Treaty. In 1919, when the peace-treaty of St.Germain dictated that Austria give up the region to the newly created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes more than a million German-speaking people left the country.⁹ A smaller number were deported or killed by Tito's Partisans at the end of World War II.¹⁰ The few who stayed kept a low profile until 1991. The cruelties of both the Nazis and the Partisans created hatred and distrust among the people on both sides of the border¹¹.

In historical times, only one part of the Slovene-inhabited area had its own administrative unit: the March of Carniola ('Mark Krain'), with its capital Laibach/Ljubljana which also covered parts of today's Croatia¹². The north belonged to the March Carinthia ('Mark Karnten'), the east to the March Styria ('Mark Steyer'), with enclosed parts owned by the Archbishop of Salzburg¹³. The country between the Mura and the Kerka-rivulet, the 'Prekomurje' ('across the Mura'), belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary.

The west of Slovenia was divided into four pieces: the northernmost part of the Julian Alps to the Carinthian border belonged to the Bishop of Brixen, the central part to the Bishop of Freising, the southern part and the Isonzo valley was the County of Gorizia, and land further west belonged to the Republic of Venice.

Today, 1.9 million¹⁴ Slovenes live in Slovenia, more than 50.000 in the Italian province of Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, 25.000 in Croatia, 20.000 in Carinthia,¹⁵ and 5.000 in the Hungarian

comitate of Zala. The Slovenes speak an own language of the southern Slavic group and keep in close contact with their fellow countrymen abroad, supporting them with literature and teachers if necessary.¹⁶

When Slovenia declared its independence on 25 June 1991, it resisted pressure by local garrisons of the Yugoslav People's Army, created its own currency, the 'Tolar',¹⁷ and started successful joint ventures with Austrian companies. When the independence of Slovenia became effective on October 8, the Republic of Slovenia put in operation 27 newly constructed border stations on its Croatian border and seven on its Austrian and Italian borders.

The creation of Slovenian armed forces¹⁸ and full recognition by the Baltic States, Ukraine, the EC, and Austria in January 1992 supports the independence of Slovenia. This brave nation liberated itself from communism, but it cannot resolve all its problems by itself, especially not those of its borders.

The present-day border with Austria is the result of a plebiscite organized by the League of Nations in 1921 on the request of the young Austrian state Deutschosterreich ('German Austria', because the border requested by armed insurgents from Slovenia cut through the Austrian province of Carinthia. The outcome was disappointing for the Slovenes: a big majority voted to remain in Austria.¹⁹ The border was changed in favor of Austria and remained so despite forceful attempts of the Partisans after World War II to change it again²⁰.

The border now runs on the ridge of the Karawanken/ Karavanke Mountains, starting in the west near the Wurzenpass/ Korensko sedlo, a summer-passable gap 1073 m high, reaching its highest point at 2236 m, and descending to the gap of Loibl/ Ljubelj, usable all year. South of the gap of Seeburg/ Jezerski the new border yields a small piece of mountainous area to Slovenia, then it proceeds north-east, cutting off from Carinthia the valleys of Miss/ Meza and Missling/ Mislinja with their precious lead and iron mines. Then, instead of turning south, the border goes straight west, yielding the most fertile part of Styria to Slovenia. These three territories together make up about 3,500 square miles, almost half of Slovenia's area.

While the border in the west facing Carinthia takes a geographically natural course, separating a small part of the Slovenes from their republic, its course in the east facing Styria proceeds across open fields, meadows, vineyards, streets, and even through settlements and cities, an accurate dividing line between the people of German and Slavic tongues.

There are no recent Austrian border claims against Slovenia, and none are expected for the future. The expulsion of a million German speaking people at the end of World War I, the cruelties of the fascists and the Partisans are serious impediments to international understanding, but there is hope that common sense and the aspects of mutual advantages will prevail. Austria is able to provide Slovenia with urgently needed investments, and Slovenia has an access to the sea. These facts could give the

two small nations in the heart of Europe reason to find a way to live together; Both Slovenia and Austria regard their common border as secure and settled.

II: The Italian Border

The border between Italy and Slovenia is 93 miles long but is not a clear dividing line between these two nations.

It starts in the north near the above mentioned gap of Wurzenpass and proceeds in the general direction south towards the Gulf of Trieste, yielding the Isonzo Valley, for which the Italians fought 14 fierce battles against the Austrians in World War I, to Slovenia. It divides the city of Gorizia into two parts -- the old city lies in Italy; the new one, Nova Gorica, belongs to Slovenia -- and then takes its course along the low divide between the Adriatic sea and the Branica rivulet, reserving Trieste and its environs for Italy. It circles around Trieste on the east and south and meets the coast on the cape of San Bartolomeo, leaving 28 miles of coastline to Slovenia.

Slovenes live in the Italian region of Friuli-Venezia-Giulia, probably 50,000, and the leaders of this group meet regularly with the Slovenian border communities²¹. The indigenous population of the region are the Friulians, a nation of Romance tongue, plus a small German minority. On the Slovenian side of the border live 3,000 to 4,000 Italians, and

south of Slovenia, right across the Slovenian-Croatian border, lives a group of 25,000 Italians, in the communities of Buje and Rovinj on the Istrian peninsula, which belongs to the Republic of Croatia.

After the beginning of World War I, in the secret Treaty of London in 1915, Italy was promised Dalmatia, Istria and the Isonzo valley if Italy were to join the alliance against Austria and Germany. But in 1919, when Italy asked for its rewards at the Paris Peace Conference it was rejected, largely because W. Wilson wanted Dalmatia to go to the new southern Slavs state.²² Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in October 1920, however, signed the Treaty of Rapallo which gave the Isonzo-valley, Gorizia, Istria, the four Kvarner/Quarnero Islands and Zara/ Zadar to Italy, denying Slovenia an approach to the sea.²³ Half of the 600,000 inhabitants of Istria were Italians, the other half Croats and Slovenes; the German speaking population left the peninsula.

After World War II, in May 1945, the Partisans occupied the territory and took revenge against the fascists' attempts at Italianization: 3,500 Italians were killed, many of them simply thrown into the gorges of the Karst Mountains;²⁴ 250,000 fled to Italy. In the same year, the Allies accepted the French recommendation for new borders, and in the 1947 Paris Agreement they yielded the territory between the border of World War I and the French line to Yugoslavia. The city of Trieste and a small piece of its hinterland became a 'Free Territory.'

In 1954, Trieste voted for freedom in a plebiscite and returned to Italy, to whom it had belonged from 1919 to 1945. The southern piece of the Free Territory, 'Zone B,' was cut off and became Slovenia's access to the sea. Italy and the SFRY signed another agreement in 1976, the Treaty of Osimo, in which they regulated the course of the border and the treatment of minorities.

Fascists in northern Italy -- the Movimento Sociale Italiano especially -- recognized the auspicious hour and demanded restitution of former Italian territory, although only 25,000 Italians (not Friulians) are currently living there. The independence of Slovenia intensified the conflict because the installation of a new border control between Slovenia and Croatia denies the Italians living in the small strip of Slovenia access to their meadows and gardens in Croatia. The Roman road Via Flavia which connects Trieste and Pula is interrupted for the first time in 2,000 years of history.

'Let's get back Istria,' shouted Italians on 6 October 1991 in Trieste." And in Istria on the same day, the 'Democratic Convention of Istria' demonstrated on the new border, requesting Istria to become an 'interethnic' region by mediation by the EC. But a simple border change would achieve nothing: It would only mean no Italians and no access to the sea for Slovenia, or more Slovenians and Croats in Italy, or a new expulsion with another wave of refugees, which the Central European countries already have enough of.

Rome fosters Slovene independence: During the few months of Slovene border control the number of illegal immigrants to Italy decreased by 90 percent, and the Slovene customs-control is cooperating with Austrian and Italian border control to stop drug dealing from the Balkans into Central Europe.

The Italian government is cautious about its effective neighbors in the north-east, but a solution for the minorities must be found. Given the fact that the population of Friuli is not Italian and that there are secessionist political parties in all northern Italian provinces, the government is urged to act. Can the region expect a peaceful solution, such as a new border treaty, or will just the more powerful side prevail?

Until this day, Slovenia's border with Italy must be seen as endangered.

III: The Hungarian Border

The Hungarian border is approximately 270 miles long and separates Slovenia, Croatia, and the Vojvodina from Hungary,²⁶ but only its central part, the border of Slavonia, provides a distinct division between Hungarians and Slavs.

1. The Hungarian-Slovene Border

The border starts at the Austrian-Hungarian-Slovene corner on Srebrni Vrh (404 m) and proceeds 10 mi east along the low

ridge which forms the boundary between the catchment areas of the river Raab in the north and the Mura in the south. Then, turning south, it yields the rest of the Kerka valley with its resources of crude oil, to Hungary and meets the Mura at Muraszemenye.²⁷

In Dolinsko -- a Slovene region which belonged to Hungary till 1919²⁸ -- in the community of Lendava, lives a Hungarian minority of 9,000 people, balancing the 5,000 Slovenes living in the Hungarian county of Zala right across the border. Since Slovene independence, relations between Hungary and Slovenia are marked by mutual understanding, and there are no complaints about the situation of the minorities.

There are no border claims from either side, and the two congruent groups appear as a part of a common cultural good. Both Hungary and Slovenia are too busy mastering other problems to start fighting for their small minorities. The Hungarian border on Slovenia, therefore, can be considered secure.

2. The Hungarian-Croatian Border

Proceeding south east, the border between Hungary and Croatia takes its course along the Mura and then the Drava Rivers, sometimes following a former, now straightened river bed of the Drava, leaving bends of wetlands bulging out on either side. Turning north-east south of Siklos, it leaves the Drava and cuts off the southern Baranya until it crosses the Danube and leaves Croatia at the bridge across Ferenc Creek.

Southern Baranya (382 square miles) is the triangle between the Drava, the Danube and the Hungarian border; it is part of the old Hungarian province of Baranya, which held a mixed Hungarian, Serbian, Croatian, and German population until the end of World War I.³⁰ The southern part was separated from Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 and given to Croatia. As the Germans, consequently, 'opted to leave the country',³⁰ the number of Serbs in the southern Baranya increased.³¹

The land between the Drava and Sava rivers is called Slavonia;³² it reaches from the Ilova River in the north-west to a line from Vukovar on the Danube to Zupanja on the Sava where it borders Syrmia.³² Slavonia has a small Czech minority in the communities Grubishno Polje and Daruvar, but almost half of the Serbs of Croatia (altogether 532,000) live there.³⁴ Only the communities of Djurdjevac (on Drava), Valpovo (west of Osijek), and Djakovo (south-east Slavonia) have no Serbian minority. Some 80,000 Croats live across the Drava in Hungary, in the comitates of Baranya and Somogy.

The Croats speak a Croatian version of Serbocroatian. They constitute the majority of the entire population of Slavonia, but have to share the province with Serbs, who were called to settle there by the Austrian Habsburgs. The Austrian Empire, defending Croatia -- or what was left of it -- against the Turks, needed reliable fighters in the devastated territories. They found those warriors in the Serbs of Rascia who were suffering from persecution by the Muslims.³⁶ The immigrants were settled from

the fourteenth century on in the border regions known as Military Frontier. It was not just Austria which gained from the vigilance of these farmer-warriors: the Serbs in the Lika and in Slavonia -- together with the German settlers who arrived in the eighteenth century - saved Europe from Turkish incursion.

For the resettled Serbs, however, becoming Croatian was anything but attractive. They were Christians, but Orthodox, and have resisted assimilation to the Catholic Croat environment to this today. After declaration of Croatia's independence on 30 May 1991 and under the impression of the general dissolution of the Yugoslav state, the Serbs in their hereditary seats declared their secession and independence from Croatia and combined their territories in 2 Serbian Autonomous Regions (SAO) that split the territory of Croatia to pieces."

As the eastern SAO separates the central part of Slavonia with Slavonska Pozhega from the capital Zagreb, who will control the province? Can it be secured for Croatia (e.g., by UN-troops), will Serbia take it as a connection for the separated parts of the Eastern SAO, or would it revert to Hungary, to whom it used to belong?

The Croats, involved in a civil war which cost them already 20,000 casualties, realized that peace with the northern neighbor is a strategic issue of highest importance for their Republic, and, consequently, Croatian leaders stay in close contact with Hungarian politicians, thus trying to avoid possible Hungarian claims for parts of Slavonia or the southern Baranya if the Serbs

prove unable to hold it.

Under these troublesome circumstances, the Slavonian border can not be secure, and the border dividing the Baranya is considered endangered.

3. The Vojvodina Border

At the Ferenc Creek, the border enters the Bacska³⁷ and follows the Pazovic Creek in a north-easterly direction, mostly on the northern side, then bends around Ridica and Subotica (former Maria-Theresiopol) in the north.³⁸ It proceeds along the Koros-r, then turns eastward, passes over the Tisza south of Szeged, where it enters the Banat, to the tripoint of Rumania, Hungary, and Serbia near Rabe. This border line was deliberately drawn by the Treaty of Trianon in June 1920, when the victorious allies granted the Serbian kingdom, as reward for participating in World War I, a country it had never possessed before: the Bacska. The Serbs linked it with Western Banat and Syrmia, the land between the Danube and Sava east of Slavonia, to create a Serbian majority, and called it Vojvodina.³⁹

The Bacska hosted the Mongols and Germanic tribes like the Goths and Gepides in the early Middle Ages, the Turkic Kumans⁴⁰ and the Uralic Magyars - who became Hungarians - in the 9th century and stayed under Hungarian rule, even during Turkish occupation in the sixteenth century, till 1919.⁴¹ In the

following two centuries, the Austro-Hungarian empire allowed Serbs who were suffering from Turkish persecution in Serbia proper south of the Danube to settle in the Bacska, and brought Czech, Slovak, Ruthenian, Croatian, Hungarian, and German settlers to recolonize the devastated plains.

In these times, the towns of the Bacska acquired their Hungarian-German appearance and names; the latter were erased from the maps in 1945 by the new Yugoslav administration.

When the Red Army liberated the Bacska from the fascists, the non-Slavic population was persecuted. Though the men were still at war, it was not easy for the Communists to find, rape, deport, and kill the German and Hungarian women and children because the Slavic population protected and hid them, thus endangering their own lives. The women and children were forced on a 2000-mile foot march to southern Russia that only a few survived; the rest died in the first winter in the Kalmuk-steppe between the Volga and the Caspian Sea. When the Red Army left, 300,000 Germans had disappeared, and the Hungarian population was reduced to some 400,000.⁴²

The reduction of the most industrious working force made the Bacska, once one of the richest areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a poor country, far behind in industrialization. The state it belongs to has to import crops despite the rich and fertile ground of the Bacska. The recent nationalist uprising in Serbia since the beginning of the civil war caused 120,000 Hungarians and Croats to flee to Hungary. The "Socialist"⁴³

government of Serbia is trying to prevent cross-border contact by mining the northern frontier of the Bacska; it ignores Hungarian sovereignty of air space and has bombed the border town of Barcs.

The Hungarians, after having suppressed and assimilated Slavic and German minorities for centuries, recently proclaimed a new law which promises exemplary treatment of all minorities in Hungary, the rationale being that if they do so, the Serbs will do the same.⁴⁴ In the meantime, the 'Democratic Union of the Hungarians in Vojvodina' - speaking for the Hungarians in the Banat as well - appealed to the Peace Conference in Den Haag to install a model of peaceful coexistence in the Vojvodina. The chairman states that 'Hungarians in the Vojvodina are part of the Hungarian culture and they will put all their efforts into the struggle to preserve and reveal their national identity'.⁴⁵

The Hungarian foreign minister states that Hungary will not use military force, but all possible other means to help the Hungarian minorities abroad.⁴⁶ Other Hungarian politicians say it would be enough to achieve regional autonomy. Given the fact that the Bacska belonged to Hungary for a whole millennium, and taking into account unpredictable changes in the balance of powers on the Balkans in the near future, together with the political and economic damage caused by the civil war in Yugoslavia, the Vojvodina border must be considered endangered.

IV: The Romanian Border

The Romanian border with Yugoslavia is approximately 340 miles long and separates Romania from the Banat and Eastern Serbia. Like many other borders in East Europe, also this border does not constitute a boundary between nations, because minorities of the bordering nations and of other nationalities live on both sides.

The border proceeds in the general direction south-east from the Hungarian-Rumanian corner, crosses the Tamish River east of Jasha Tomic in the Vojvodina and encircles Vrshac/ Werschetz and Bela Crkva/ Weissenkirchen in the east. From there, it follows the rivulet Nera until it meets the Danube near Stara Palanka. It goes along the Danube on the northern side through four gorges -- the most famous is the 'Iron Gate' -- enters the Walachian Plain east of Turnu Severin and turns south until the corner of Negotin, where it meets the Bulgarian border.

The Banat is the country bounded by the Mures River in the north, by Siebenburgen/ Transylvania in the east, the Danube in the south, and the Tisa in the west.⁴⁷ In the Middle Ages, Goths and Gepides lived there under the supremacy of the Huns. At the end of the fifth century, wandering Avars and Slavs arrived, and were soon replaced by the Kumans and Magyars, who organized the country and integrated it into the Hungarian kingdom as the 'Banat of Severin.' The Serbs were allowed to settle in the fifteenth century, and after a period of Turkish rule, Austria

acquired the region in 1718 as the "Banat of Temesvar" and invited Slovak and German settlers from the Rhineland, Lorraine, and Luxembourg to settle in the deserted lands.

In the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 the Banat was divided into three parts; the biggest section in the east fell to Romania, the southern part to Serbia. Both were busy finding new names for the old Hungarian and German towns, names which are now accepted as "international" but not used and often not even known by the indigenous population. Hungary, the country which had ruled the Banat for 800 years, was granted with the small northern part around Szeged. At the end of World War II, the Red Army deported and killed the Germans of the Banat as those of the Bacska.

The southern Banat is not an administrative unit of its own but it belongs to the Vojvodina. Approximately 70,000 Hungarians live here in all communities except Bela Crkva and Ali Bunar; 40,000 Rumanians live in the communities of Bela Crkva, Vrsnac, Kovin, Zhitishte, Plandishte, and Kovachica; 60,000 Slovaks in Plandishte and Kovachica. 30,000 Vlachs -- a people of Roman origin speaking an East Roman language related to Rumanian -- live in Eastern Serbia south of the Danube.

Between 10,000 and 20,000 Serbs live across the border in the southern part of the Romanian Banat, mainly in the valleys of the rivulets Ilidja and Carasul.⁴⁰ Additionally, there are a few Serbian settlements on islands of the Danube past the Iron Gate; they now belong to Romania and are often named "Ostrovu",⁴¹ the Rumanian misspelling of Serbian ostrvo (island). Romania never

admitted even the existence of a Serbian minority within its confines."

Romania announced that it wants to renegotiate the borders with the Ukraine and must expect to get in trouble with the 2 or 3 million Hungarians in the country. Therefore it does not have any official border claims on Yugoslavia; a partial change of the borderline can be imagined in connection with a successful attempt to reunite the Hungarian nation in the Baranya, Bacska, and Banat, or with the dissolution of the multinational state of Romania. History shows that a time of suppression and tyranny is often followed by an era of freedom and chaos, and this may happen after the demolition of Communist rule in Romania and Serbia. Therefore, the Romanian border is not settled, though not contested at the present.

V: The Bulgarian Border

The Bulgarian border with Yugoslavia is approximately 280 miles long and separates Bulgaria from Serbia and Macedonia. In its northernmost course, it constitutes a dividing line between the Serbian and Bulgarian nation, its central part cuts off a Bulgarian minority in Serbia, and the southern part cuts straight through the living space of the Macedonians.

1. The Bulgarian-Serbian Border

The border starts at the mouth of the Timok River and follows the river on the Bulgarian side to Bregovo, where it climbs up to the watershed between Timok on the Serbian side and the southern tributaries of the Danube, including the Ogosta River, on the Bulgarian side. On the Berkovska Mountain (1933 m) it turns south, separating the upper course areas of the rivulets Visova, Nishava and Jerma from Serbia.¹ From the mountain Ruž (1706 m) it takes its course in a general southward direction, this time cutting off the Brankovachka, Ljubatska and Bozhichka rivers.² and meets the Serbian-Macedonian border on Kopriva Mountain (1315 m).

Before World War I, the border assigned the region of Dimitrovgrad to Bulgaria and then ran mostly along the watershed and west of its present course. In 1920, the Allied Council of Ambassadors forced Bulgaria to yield Southern Thrace to Greece, the valley of the upper Strumica to Macedonia, and the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraph and a small piece of the lower course of the Timok to Serbia. There are no apparent reasons for these adjustment stipulated by the Treaty of Neuilly of 27 November 1919, except for the punishment of Bulgaria, because the communities of Bosilegrad on Dragovishtica and Dimitrovgrad contain a strong Bulgarian minority.

This Bulgarian minority was always a concern for Belgrade: in the 1980s, there were interviews in the Serbian media where

the Bulgarians at the border were forced to tell stories about the cruel behavior of Bulgarian troops at the end of World War II. It was interesting to listen to their language: they had to speak the Serbian that everyone is required to learn in school, so they pronounced the Serbian words in the Bulgarian way and did not use declension as Bulgarian does not have any. Most Bulgarians do not dare to declare themselves Bulgarians in the census of the nationalities.

Though Bulgaria does not officially claim the above mentioned areas, she could easily regain them, using a weak point in the history of her western sister nation who now has to defend all the ill-gotten gains against all sides. In this context, the Serbian-Bulgarian border must be considered insecure.

2. The Bulgarian-Macedonian Border

The border proceeds from the Kopriva Mountain in a general southward direction, following the watershed between the Kriva and Bregalnica River to the southern corner of the Maleshevski range (1404 m).⁸³ From there, it takes its course straight south, cutting off the Cironska rivulet⁸⁴ and the upper course of the Strumica⁸⁵ from Bulgaria, and meets the Greek border on the heights of Belashica Mountains (1880). The upper Strumica valley is one of the regions Bulgaria had to yield after World War I but here no Bulgarian minority is cut off, because the entire course of this border divides the Macedonian nation, which never had its

own state. Macedonia east of today's border in Bulgaria is generally called "Pirin Macedonia"; only official Bulgarian sources call it "District of Blagoevgrad." It comprises approximately 3,000 square miles, including the district of Kjustendil.

The Treaty of San Stefano would have given all of Macedonia to Bulgaria, but was overruled by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, which returned Macedonia to Turkey, leaving Bulgaria as a small principality. The Secret Agreement of Partition between Serbia and Bulgaria promised the former all of Albania and north-western Macedonia with Skopje and the latter a triangular wedge from Kjustendil to Struga, Lake Ohrid and Strumica.⁶⁶ But after the First Balkan War, the great European powers denied Serbia access to the Adriatic Sea; especially the Austrian-Hungarian Empire insisted on a separate state for the Albanian nation. As an indemnity, Serbia got most of Macedonia; Bulgaria felt defrauded, started another war, lost, and was punished in the Treaty of Bucharest. Macedonia remained divided.

The Macedonian language is neither Serbian nor Bulgarian, but is much closer to the latter. The Macedonians in Bulgaria live in the Struma and Mesta valleys and in the adjacent mountains. A census carried out in 1956 counted 187,729 Macedonians in Bulgaria,⁶⁷ but in 1975 nobody dared to declare himself Macedonian - a situation already familiar from Serbia.

Coming into Macedonia from the east by one of the few open border-crossings (there are only three), the traveller is unable

to see any difference in the country where he came from. But driving on a few miles on the bad Balkan road, the traveller may see houses and clothing more adapted to the hot climate and undeniably of Greek origin, and he might be able to realize a mixture of races in the people representing their turbulent history. These are the Macedonians: step by step different from each other, but neither Serbs nor Bulgarians nor Greeks.

The influence of Turkish times is still felt in Macedonia; not only in architecture and in the skilled crafts, but also in the population: a Muslim minority of 40,000 people lives around Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, Kichevo and Krushevo, and a Turkish group of 78,000 in a central belt from the Albanian border through Gostivar, Titov Veles to Strumica.

A Serbian minority of some 44,000 people lives in the communities of Kumanovo, Valandovo, and Negotino. The existence of this minority and the fact that it is possible to tell them from the Macedonians by habit and language proves that the Macedonians are not southern Serbs.

On 22 November 1991, Macedonia declared her independence, and was acknowledged by Bulgaria, Albania, and Ukraine. Bulgaria, however, made it clear that this does not mean recognizing the Macedonians as a nation, but fearing Serbian intervention, the government in Sofia asked the EC to install border controls. Probably, this should forestall problems at the western Bulgarian border in case the Macedonians in Bulgaria - who do not exist according to the Bulgarian census - want to join

their western brothers who have liberated themselves of the suppression of the Communist forces who left Macedonia in February 1992. But they also left Macedonia without an army and at the mercy of her neighbors. Therefore, the Macedonian borders and the existence of the whole republic is endangered.

VI: The Greek Border

The Greek border separates Macedonia and Greece; it is 153 miles long and constitutes a dividing line between the Slavic Macedonians and the Greek nation.

The border takes a southern course from the Bulgarian-Greek-Macedonian tripoint of Tumba Mountain on the ridge of Belashica, goes through Lake Dojran and turns west, crossing the Vardar/Axios River south of Gevgelija. Farther west, it climbs up to the watershed between the Boshava and Crna rivers in the north and the Moglenitsas River in the south until Kajmakchalan Mountain (2521 m). Running down into the Jelaska valley, it cuts off the southern part of Pelagonia, leaving the larger part of this fertile plain with Bitola to Macedonia. Then it crosses the Baba Mountain and goes straight westward into Lake Prespa, where it meets the Albanian border south of the Island Golemgrad, the ancient capital of Csar Simeon's Bulgarian Empire. The border ends at the southern point of the triangular wedge the Serbs had promised the Bulgarians in the Secret Agreement of Partition.

The country on the northern side of the border is full of

relics of the Greek-Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine past. A paradise for archaeologists, some of its sights, include Heraclea Lyncestis near Bitola, excavated through international efforts, although the Yugoslav government was not interested in showing that anybody but Slavic communists had ever lived in the country.

The Greek interest in Macedonia goes back to the times of the Old Macedonian Kingdom of the 5th century B.C.: official opinion in Greece states that the Old Macedonians were a Greek tribe, which is supposedly proven by similarities between inscriptions found in Macedonia and in Greek lands. There is no doubt that Old Macedonian got many loan-words from Greek. But the Greeks transfer their disrespect for the Old Macedonians, who were an independent Indoeuropean people, onto the present Macedonians: they explicitly neither acknowledge Macedonian as a proper language nor as a nation."

Before World War I, a large number of Slavic people lived on the Greek side of the border." But after the Greek-Turkish War in 1923 -- as a result of the Convention included in the Treaty of Lausanne -- more than a million Greek refugees left Turkey; the greater part of them was given land to settle in Greek Macedonia, thus making the indigenous Macedonians a minority. A program of population-exchange between the SFRY and Greece after World War II ended the existence of the Greek minority north of and an official Slavic minority south of the border.

But unions of the 'expelled Slavic people of Macedonia' contended during a meeting in Skopje in 1988 that Macedonia is

still Slavic, and refuse to accept the existence of a Greek Macedonia: official papers of the SFRY use 'Aegean Macedonia' instead. This might change now because Greece is the only supporter of the Serbian position against Macedonian independence. The behavior of Greece and Serbia reminds one of 1912, when these two violently opposed the independence of Albania as both wanted a bigger share of the territory of this nation.

The newly declared Republic of Macedonia seems to have made a political mistake in her new constitution: articles 68 and 74 enable the Macedonian Parliament to decide on border changes." This was enough for the Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs to accuse Macedonia on 7 December 1991 of claiming territories of her neighbors. Under these circumstances -- Bulgaria and Albania recognize Macedonia, but Serbia does not, and Greece does not even recognize the existence of a Macedonian nation -- the Greek-Macedonian border is seriously disputed and a clear danger point.

VII: The Albanian Border

The Albanian border separates Albania from Macedonia, Kosovo, and Montenegro. It is 291 miles long; 71 miles of its length run on water. Only one part of the Montenegrin border is a dividing line between two nations, the Albanians and the Montenegrins; all other parts have Albanians living on both sides of the border, as well as some Slavic minorities in Albania.

1. The Albanian - Macedonian Border

The border starts at the Greek-Macedonian-Albanian tripoint south-west of Golem Island in Lake Prespa. From there, it ascends the Galichica Mountain and goes down to Sveti Naum on Lake Ohrid, which it crosses to the north-west. From the border station Cafasan, it proceeds along the watershed of the Shkumbin River on the Albanian side and the Black Drin on the Macedonian side. It descends to the Black Drin that opens a broad gap to Albania -- often used for invasions in history. Near Debar, the boundary crosses the river that empties into the Adriatic Sea, climbs up the Deshat and Korab Mountains, where it reaches its highest elevation (2764m) at the corner of Macedonia, Albania, and Kosovo. It is a natural mountain-border of Alpine character except for the gap of Debar and the lakes.

According to the census of 1981, 377,000 Albanians lived in Macedonia. But during the last decade, the number of Albanians in Western Macedonia increased substantially due to Yugoslavia's persecution of the Albanians who demanded human rights and a proper government in neighboring Kosovo. After waves of violence against Albanians in Serbia they wanted to emigrate. But repeated refusal of the central government to grant international passports left them only one place to go: Macedonia. Probably about 30 % percent of the population of Macedonia is now Albanian, which means approximately 600,000 people."

They started on a low economic level, often as house-

keepers, drivers, gardeners, but also as market vendors. Industrious people used to a modest way of life, they were very successful, especially in the towns of Western Macedonia: Debar and Struga already had Albanian majorities in 1983, and cities like Ohrid, Gostivar, and others changed their appearance from 'pure Macedonian' to places mixed in population, culture, and religion. On the country-side, one could also feel the increase of Albanian population in the mid-eighties, especially at harvest time.⁴²

The Albanians speak an own Indoeuropean language, different from the Slavic languages. They are very conscious of what is happening in Macedonia now: when Macedonia voted for independence on 8 September 1991, they boycotted the poll,⁴³ for fear that they will be treated as a minority and not as a nation with equal rights. Although Albania recognized Macedonia, she will never be happy with the situation of so many Albanians living in Macedonia as a minority. Under these circumstances, the Albanian-Macedonian border is considered insecure.

2. The Border between Albania and Kosovo

From the tripoint of Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo, the border proceeds north on a western spur of the Shar Mountains, yielding the upper course of the Chaje and Lime rivers to Kosovo. It crosses the White Drin east of Prizren and ascends to the watershed between the eastern tributaries of the White Drin on

the Kosovo-side and the western ones on the Albanian side; it follows this watershed to the eastern corner of the Prokletje Mountains, where it meets the Montenegrin border. Most of the border is mountainous, with higher areas in the south (on average 2,000 m); only the Drin valley is passable all year long.

The Albanian boundaries are the result of the London Conference of Ambassadors on 9 November 1921, but the eastern and northern boundaries were actually fixed by the North Albanian Frontier Commission, which completed its work in June 1914; "an agreement, however, was delayed by the outbreak of World War I, and the final instrument of demarcation, which applied the outcome of the Frontier Commission with certain modifications, was signed in Paris on 30 July 1926.

About 40,000 Greeks in the valleys of the Drinosi, Vjosa, and Osumi rivers close to the Greek border and a comparable number of Macedonians near Lake Ohrid live in Albania. Together with a small group of converted Albanians, they form a small and suppressed Christian minority in a largely Islamic country.

The border between Albania and Kosovo -- which is actually Kosovo and Metohija -- has been closed by an iron curtain since 1946 and cuts the Albanian nation into two parts: 3.2 million Albanians in Albania and some 1.9 million in Kosovo. Taking into consideration that the Albanians in Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy -- including those in Kosovo -- number approximately 4 millions, more Albanians live abroad, where they do not enjoy their national rights, than in Albania.

This is a unique situation that can only be compared with the diaspora of the Jewish people.

There is no easy solution for Kosovo: the Serbs consider it as their historic heartland, while the Albanians consider themselves the descendants of the ancient Indoeuropean Illyrians who settled there long before the Serbs arrived. In 1976, 1981, and 1989, Albanian uprisings in Kosovo were suppressed by special police units from Serbia and troops of the Yugoslav People's Army. The half-way autonomous status of the province was revoked, two million Albanians in Kosovo put under a Serbian regional government, although the Serbs in Kosovo make up only 9 to 10 % of the entire population. This caused discontent, hatred, and grievance amongst the nations. When an illegal undercover parliament of Kosovo declared Kosovo independent in 1991, Albania immediately recognized the "Republic of Kosovo".

The situation can only be described as explosive, and the border of Kosovo must be considered unsettled.

3. The Albanian - Montenegrin Border

Starting from the tripoint of Kosovo, Albania, and Montenegro on the Prokletje range, the border runs on the watershed between the Lim River on the Montenegrin side, and the northern tributaries of the Drin," constituting the dividing line between the catchment areas of the Black Sea" and the Adriatic Sea. Near Jezerce Peak the border turns north and cuts

out most of the upper course of Vermosht Valley, thus including the native lands of the Kelmendi and Kastrati tribes into Albania. From the mountain Maja i Zabelit (2130 m), the border proceeds generally south-west, mostly on a low ridge along the Cijevna River, which it crosses, and continues its course into the north-eastern bay of Lake Shkoder. Making two right-angle turns in the lake, it crosses the low Rumija Range and follows the Buene River to the Adriatic Sea.

In its upper part from the Lake Shkoder, the border mostly constitutes a dividing line between the Albanians and the Montenegrins, but it leaves the Grude tribe completely and the Hoti partially in Montenegro.

According to the census of 1981, 78,000 Bosnian Muslims and 19,000 Serbs live in the Republic. The Croats, who originally inhabited most of the coast, were removed to Croatia after World War II; only 7,000 of them stayed in a few villages around the Bay of Tivat and in the area of Grabalj, taken care of by Franciscan priests of Zagreb despite all chicaneries of the Communist government. Groups of Russian colonists were settled by the Serbian government in the north-eastern part of the country in the 19th century; they lost their mother tongue and now speak Serbocroatian.

Albanians live mainly in the coastal area between Lake Shkoder and the Adriatic Sea, but also north of Lake Shkodra. The entire Albanian population in Montenegro is approximately 60,000 (38,000 according to the census of 1981). In 1987, an

agreement between Albania and the SFRY, restricted to the Montenegrin - Albanian border, tried to increase communication and economic relations between the countries. It was of little effect, and the newly opened railway line on the northern shore of Lake Shkodra - Albania's only railway connection abroad - was closed after a few days for lack of traffic.

On the Albanian side, north-east of Lake Shkoder, there is also a small Montenegrin group of about 5,000 people."

There are no official border claims from either side. Montenegro is satisfied with the territory it has been able to retain since 1878. Albania has bigger problems than the reintegration of splinters of her northern tribes and seems to agree to the present borders; only the Albanians living in the fertile coastal plain between the border at the Buene River and Ulcinj could be a reason for a possible border claim. Therefore, this part of the border could become insecure; the bigger part north of Lake Shkodra, however, is considered safe.

VIII: The Adriatic Border

The border starts at the mouth of the Buene' Bojana River, goes out to the Adriatic Sea for about 65 miles, and then turns north-west until the Gulf of Venice, including all the islands of the Adriatic Sea, except for the Pianosa and Tremiti islands. It proceeds to the Gulf of Trieste and turns eastward, meeting the shore of Istria near Muggia south of Trieste.

The border separates Italy from the north-eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea (Dalmatia), which was under the supremacy of the Dogean Republic of Venice, in the Middle Ages. Its influence on population, architecture, and language can be found everywhere in Dalmatia and Montenegro. Until World War II, many of the people on the Dalmatian islands spoke Dalmatian, an East-Romance language related to both Italian and Rumanian. They were killed or deported by the Partisans at the end of World War II in revenge for the Italian occupation of Dalmatia.

This coast has seen a succession of masters in the course of history: Illyrians, Greeks, Romans, Turks, Venetians, Normans, Austrians, Hungarians, Spaniards, French, British, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Italians. Many harbor towns remained independent republics, like Zara/Zadar, Ragusa/Dubrovnik, and Perasti/Perast in the Bay of Kotor, until they were subjected to Venetian and later to Turkish rule."

Today, the southernmost border from the Albanian border to a point two miles north of Oshtri Rt, the 'Sharp Cape,' including the Bay of Kotor, still belongs to Montenegro.

The next section, up to the recreation resort of the Yugoslav People's Army, Kupari, with the rich coastal valley Konavli and the airport of Cilipi, was conquered by the YPA during the civil war and seems destined to be the Serbian access to the sea. The only railway connection from Montenegro to the Konavli was dismantled in the 1970s, because decreasing economic and social relations amongst the Yugoslav republics had made it

obsolete; the empty dams have been serving as places for Communist sport competitions up to now.

Dubrovnik became a 'Free Republic under the protection of the YPA' in November 1991, and some of the smaller islands belong to it, while the islands Mljet, Korčula, and Hvar are controlled by the new Croatian Navy. The adjacent area north of Dubrovnik to halfway up the channel Mali Ston, including the peninsula Pelješac, is totally under control of the YPA. The second part of the Mali Ston with the town Neum is the piece of coast granted to Bosnia, a useless border-construction, because the weak Bosnian economy could never take advantage of its own access to the sea.

From a point two miles north-west of Neum to the coastal lake of Vrana (Vransko Jezero), the coast belongs formally to Croatia, but has no connection with the main parts of the Republic. It is cut off by the 'SAO Krajina' (a Serbian Autonomous Region), which reaches from this point to Zadar.

Zadar and the further extent of coast until the Bay of Šibenik, including the Istria peninsula and the Kvarner Islands, belongs to Croatia; this is the only part of the Croatian coast that has non-interrupted road and railway connections to the capital Zagreb. Theoretically, all Dalmatian islands belong to Croatia, but the small Croatian Navy does not have control of all of them. The last piece of the Istrian coast until the Italian border belongs to Slovenia.

It is impossible to predict how the political order of the Adriatic East Coast will look after an eventual settling of the quarrels and the end of the civil war. But such a pattern of seven or eight different political units creates opportunities for foreign powers to interfere, especially those who used to possess parts of the coast. Under these circumstances, the Adriatic Sea border can be secure only where it belongs to the well-established Republic of Montenegro; the rest is endangered.

PART 3

Conclusions

As both the CSCE and EC proved incompetent during the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia will have to look out for other international panels to secure their independence. 'Initiative for Central Europe' is the new name of the loose union of states which was called 'Pentagonale' or 'Hexagonale' till 1991. Since the SFRY was excluded in December 1991, it comprises Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. Membership in such a community might protect the young republics from border claims or would at least allow peaceful discussion. In any case, the history of Slovenia's Western border and the present partition of the Yugoslav coast pose the major threat of border changes.

The stability or instability of the Hungarian border depends

on the outcome of the civil war in Croatia: a complete victory of the Serbs, gaining the SAOs Western Slavonia, Baranya, and Western Sirmia -- and, if the occasion should arise, a corridor tying the separate pieces together -- would make Central Slavonia the object of endless hostilities. The same would happen if Croatia fell back to a chauvinist state which persecutes its minorities.

Then, everything will depend on a solution for the Hungarians, Romanians, and Slovaks - the smaller minorities play a lesser part - in the Bacska and Banat: if Serbia manages to satisfy them, Slavonia and Vojvodina can stay as they are; if not, it could mean war. Such a 'Third Balkan War' would leave Serbia fighting an alliance of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania. This could cause other direct or indirect neighbors to take sides and join in, creating a chain reaction the extent of which nobody can predict. The Hungarian border would then only be a minor issue.

Reawakening Albania is in a desperate situation: more than half of the entire nation has to live abroad. The majority does not enjoy any national rights, and, in Kosovo, not even basic human rights. One can trust that Macedonia will solve the question by allowing the Albanians to participate as equals in the government, but this will have exemplary impact on the people in Kosovo, where the Albanians live as in a huge prison, a situation which causes violence on both sides.

Anyone who knows the Albanians and the Serbs also knows that

there will be no peace in Serbia without freedom for the Albanians. Belgrade has failed to install an acceptable order based on equal rights for both nations, and the Albanians are poised to separate from the Republic of Serbia despite costly programs for education and economic support for Kosovo. Yielding to the wishes of the Albanians will produce major border changes, not only in Kosovo but in all regions inhabited by Albanians, but carrying on the present situation will only entail further bloodshed and the threat of the chain reaction described above. A big burden of responsibility is pressing heavily upon Serbia.

Albania, Greece and Bulgaria are in contention for parts or all of Macedonia, because of historical ties or of requests that result from modern movement of population. This constitutes a major threat to the southern borders.

The hazard of a larger-scale war in the area at least is reduced because two neighboring countries of former Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece, are members of the surviving Western alliance.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia must be conceived as a longing for freedom, which the peoples of that multinational state have been deprived of for many years. It may serve as an example for the political aims of other nations on the Balkans and for further border changes. These peoples might be ready to join a bigger union, but only after having achieved their freedom as independent nations.

NOTES

PART 1

- 1: Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (Socialistichka Federativna Republika Jugoslaviya)
- 2: The declaration of an 'Independent Republic of Kosovo' seems to be an intermediate solution in direction of unification with Albania.
- 3: Such as the Albanian boundaries, which were fixed by the North Albanian Frontier Commission in 1914.
- 4: The 'Peace Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State', in Chapter I, Article 8, says:
 'Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the state for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.' (See 'Peace Treaties', pg.8).
 Actually, the leaving population could not take anything along. If they were German they were lucky when they could save their lives, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State has denied them their rights until today. However, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State was never persecuted for braking that 'Peace Treaty'.
- 5: He was the first who used 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia' as the official name of the country.

Part 2

- 6: Derived from 'Styria', the Latin form of the name for the region where the Germanic tribe of the Styres lived in the times of medieval mass migration. Today, the name 'Styria' appears as the international name of the Austrian province 'Steiermark' (= border-country of the Styres).
- 7: see figure 'Slavic Languages'.

- 8: Derived from the Latin form of the name 'Carniola' for the early border-country of the Holy Roman Empire which is 'Kranj' in Slovene and 'Krain' in German. The same root still appears in 'Carinthia' (the province of Kaernten) and in the Greek 'Korinth', meaning 'high' or 'mountainous' in a lost Old European language.
- 9: one million from Southern Styria and Gottschee/Kochevje and approximately 400,000 from the Bacska ad Banat.
- 10: A colleague of the author tells in 1990: 'I was four years old in 1945 when we were captured by the partisans and brought to a camp in the mountains. One night somebody pulled my legs, I woke up and my father was gone; another night I heard crying - and my mother was gone. I never saw either again. I was brought to a nursery in Velenje where I learned Serbocroatian and partisan-songs. Later I was picked up by an American and brought to Austria where I grew up with my aunt.' The 'American' was a U.S. officer of a commission of the Red Cross.
- 11: The 'Third Reich' planned to evacuate the Slovenes from fertile agricultural ground, but never reached its goal: the 'Commissions of Evacuation', staffed by Austrians, would warn the population of the villages that were to be evacuated. The people hid in the woods and returned when the action was over. Some went to Serbia, where they stayed for the rest of the war, and returned in 1945. The city of Valjevo was proud to show the camp where the Slovenes stayed, and the Serbian government blamed the Slovenes for ungratefulness when Slovenia wanted to be independent.
- 12: 'March' = Ge Mark; a border-country of the Holy Roman Empire, established as a bulwark at the frontier.
- 13: The three border-countries were separated from Bavaria and made Duchies of the Holy Roman Empire in the 11th and 12th century; Carinthia and Styria became archduchies consequently. In the 13th century, all three became part of the Habsburg monarchy, where they remained until 1919.
- 14: see figure 'The New Balkan Republics'.
- 15: In Carinthia there is also a group of people speaking a language-mix using German vocabulary and Slovene flexion, e.g.: 'lajtarom' composed of Ge 'Leiter' and the Sl instrumental ending 'om', meaning 'with the ladder'. This group is called 'Windish' in Austria, using the old German nomination for Slavic people. Windish is one of the rare examples of a really mixed language; another one is the language of Malta, a mixture of Latin and Arabic.

- 16: see figure "Slavic Languages".
"Slovene" in Old Church Slavic (the oldest documented form of the Slavic stem) would mean "the speaking ones" - a nomination which is not uncommon as the self-given name of a people. Many Slavic nations call their western neighbors, the Germans, "Nemci" or "Nemecki" which means "the mute ones", a word that wandered to the Arabs, who use it in the form of "Nimsa" for the closest German nation they got to know: the Austrians. Note also that the Greeks used to call foreigners "Barbaroi" = "the stammering ones".
- 17: The Tolar was chosen in remembrance of a late Austrian coin, the "Taler", named after the city of Joachimsthal in Egerland/Bohemia where it was first coined. The name of the U.S. Dollar is also derived from the "Taler". In the beginning, the worth of the Tolar was established at an exchange-rate of 32 Tolars to one German Mark; inflation took it to 54 in January 1992.
The first bills were decorated with a picture of the "Herzogstuhl" (=Chair of the Duke), an ancient stone-seat in the Austrian province of Carinthia which served as a place of reverence for the vassals of the medieval Duke of the Slovenes and which was adopted as a landmark of Carinthia. After heavy protests of the Carinthians - headed by the Liberal Party and its chairman Jörg Haider - Slovenia began to call in the compromised bills.
- 18: Slovenia is converting her territorial forces into an army of active cadres with some 10,000 conscript soldiers every year, beginning with 15 March 1992. Primarily using the heavy equipment the YPA left in Slovene barracks, modern air-defense and anti-tank weapons will support the infantry units, and the coast guard will secure the small Slovene section of the Adriatic coast. Slovenia will spend 3.5% of her GNP for the new program of Territorial Defense ("Teritorialna Obramba"). See: Schöndorfer, Peter "Das Vorhaben ist nicht billig" in "Die Presse", Vienna, 2 Dec 91, pg.4.
- 19: Reportedly, there were two main reasons that made the Slovenes vote for Austria: First, they hoped to be united with a bigger Germany to improve their economical situation; their dreams came fatally true in 1939, when the "Third Reich" persecuted the Austrian Slovenes and deported part of them to Saxonia from where they returned after the war. Second, the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" had already introduced compulsory military service, while Austria was on the way to building a professional Army.

- 20: The Yugoslav Partisans wanted to change the border again and received support from Stalin, but the other allies were convinced that one plebiscite had already spoken well enough in favor of Austria.
- 21: Exact data is not available. Slovenian sources speak of 400.000 Slovenes in Italy, a number which is much too high because of the total population of the concerned region.
- 22: President Wilson's objection against Italian pretensions almost caused the "Peace Conference" to fail.
- 23: The four islands are: Krk, Cres, Rab, and Loshinj. Gabriele D'Annunzio occupied Fiume/ Rijeka in 1919 with his private army, but in 1920 he had to leave the town which was rendered to Italy in 1924 under Mussolini's pressure on the state of the Southern Slavs; see: "The Balkans in Our Time", pg. 98 f.
- 24: Kasseber, Friedrich "Begierige Blicke auf das Erbe des Nachbarn", in "Die Presse", Vienna, 10 Oct 91, pg. 3.
- 25: *ibid.*
- 26: Vojvodina means "Dukedom" in Serbian; this word is a mere expression of administration and does not do justice to the complex ethnic and geographical situation of the region.
- 27: near Lispe (a Hungarian community) and Redics (a Slavic one).
- 28: together with Ravensko and Prekomurje.
- 29: The administration-boundary between Baranya and Vojvodina has similar geographical characteristics to the Drava-border.
- 30: According to the words of the Paris Peace Treaty.
- 31: According to "The Future of Croatia's Border Regions"; The entire population of southern Baranya (the region of Beli Monastir) is 54,160; 41.7% are Croats, 25.5% Serbs, 16.5% Hungarians, and 7.9% of other ethnic groups. The sources cited in that article date from July 1991. Given the political situation, they cannot be considered official sources for Croatia; furthermore, the numbers of the Serbian population seem too high.

- 32: Medieval Slavonia was farther north and included the northern part of recent Slavonia, central Croatia with its capital Zagreb, and northern parts of Bosnia. In classical sources, Slavonia (Sclavonia in Greek) is used for the area of Croatia and Serbia.
- 33: today Srem or Srijem, after the Roman province of Syrmia.
- 34: The percentage of the Serbian population differs from place to place, from about 2% in Zupanja (on Sava River) to 80% in Vinkovci.
- 35: Rascia is the medieval name for Serbia, the region around Novi Pazar.
- 36: SAO is the abbreviation for Srpska Autonomna Oblast (Serbian Autonomous Region.)
- 37: the lowlands between Danube and Tisa, the northern confine being a line between Szeged and Baja; the size is approx. 4,000 square miles.
- 38: Maria-Theresiopoli was named for the Austrian empress Maria Theresia who founded the city and had its streets paved with yellow ceramic tiles that still carry the traffic of Communist economy.
- 39: Wolff, Robert Lee elucidates in 'The Balkans in Our Time', pg. 156 how the 'Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' treated the Hungarians in Bacska and Banat:
 'They had to put up with Serbian as the language of administration. Magyar civil servants, on the railroads and elsewhere, were discharged in favor of Serbian substitutes. All street signs, business stationery, and shopkeepers' books had to be in Serbian; conversation in public had to be conducted in Serbian. Clubs and societies were closed. The Serbs took over all the Magyar institutes of higher education, and permitted the Magyars too few kindergartens and elementary schools for their numbers. Croatian priests were substituted for Magyar in the Roman Catholic churches.'

- 40: The Kumans (also Komans) were called "Polowci" by the Slavs and "Vardariotes" by the Greeks in Macedonia; they spoke a Kipchak-Oghusic language (literature language in the Codex Cumanicus, thirteenth century) like Kumuc, Karachaic, Balkanic, and Krim Tataric. Their successors are the Karaims in the Crimea and Lithuania, who belong to the Jewish sect of the Karaïans and write their language in Hebrew letters. The Kumans lived in Macedonia, the Bacska, the Banat, and in southern Hungary where they spoke their language until the eighties of the nineteenth century, when they fell victim to a program of "Magyarization". The family name "Koman", widely spread in Hungary and Austria, reminds of this people of the Altaic family. See: "Fischer Lexikon", pgs. 327ff.
- 41: Except for the 12 years from 1848 to 1860 when the Austrian emperor granted the Serbs an independent Dukedom, the Vojvodina.
- 42: No local elections were held till 1929, and there are no exact numbers of the nationalities available, because the official census tells only the numbers of the whole Vojvodina.
- 43: The "Socialists" of Serbia are the followers of the former Communists.
- 44: 5,000 Serbs live in Hungary.
- 45: "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung", Frankfurt, 13 December 1991, pg. 3.
The article says that the number of Hungarians in the Vojvodina had gone down to 340,000 by December 1991.
- 46: See: Interview of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary, given to the "Standard", Vienna, 22 December 1991, pg. 2.
- 47: The word Banat is usually explained as "the land ruled by a ban"; while the ending is clearly East-Romance (like Rm "regat" = "kingdom") the "ban" seems to be an Old-Iranian word meaning "master, ruler" that the Slavs might have kept from their common past in prehistoric times. But in times of Turkish rule, the country was used as a resource for boys to refill the Janichar-units, leaving the "Banat" a country where only girls were seen, the boys being hidden from the collectors; and "banât" (plural of "bint", with the stress on the last syllable, like it is pronounced in Rumanian and German - the main languages spoken in the Banat in those times) means "girls" in Arabic. Given the fact that the Ottoman Empire also used Arabic speaking troops, this could be a suitable explanation for the word, as well.

- 43: In this area, many villages still bear Serbian names, but often written in a disfiguring Rumanian form: Vrani, Berlishte, Ciuchici/Chukici, Macovishte, Sokolari, Oravica, Clocotici/Klokotic and others.
- 49: e.g.: Ostrovu Corbului = "Island of Korb" (Korbov is a village on the Serbian side), Ostrovu Mare = "Big Island".
- 50: The author was witness to an incident in the 1980s: a president of the SFRY visited Romania; when he was entering the railway-station of Bucuresti, a crowd of Serbs from the Rumanian Banat surrounded him and handed him a petition to improve their situation. In compliance with Romanian wishes, the government of the SFRY relinquished a demarche.
- 51: all eastern tributaries of the Morava.
- 52: all tributaries of the upper Struma-Dragovishtica River, which empties into the Aegaeen Sea.
- 53: both eastern tributaries of the Vardar-River.
- 54: a tributary of the Lebница (an eastern tributary of the Strumica).
- 55: a tributary of the Struma.
- 56: The agreement was arranged within the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty of Alliance of 13 March, 1912 in Belgrade; the paragraph concerning Bulgaria stated: "... , to Bulgaria all the territory east of the Rhodope Mountains and the Struma River." (See: The Geographer, No. 79, "Greece - Yugoslavia Boundary").
- 57: according to Perry, Duncan M.: "Minorities and Bulgarian Nationalism", in "Report on Eastern Europe", Dec 13, 1991, pg. 7.
- 58: Old Macedonian was, as far as scarce sources can prove, an Indoeuropean language of the "Kentum" - group and was characterized by consonant-shifting similar to that of the Germanic languages.
- 59: Greece and Bulgaria called them Bulgarians; the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes", willing to trade the Macedonians to the Bulgarians a decade ago, insisted on calling them Macedonians.
- 60: See "Salzburger Nachrichten", Salzburg, 12 Dec 1991, pg. 5.

- 61: According to Nevzat Halili, head of the Albanian party in Macedonia, one third of the population; see "Die Furche", Vienna, 17 October 1991, pg.3.
- 62: Peppers, tomatoes and onions are extensively grown in Macedonia, and constitutes precious export goods. It is a fatal coincidence that they reach ripeness at Ilinden, the big Macedonian festival in remembrance of the uprising against the Turks; the Slavic Macedonians have to celebrate it, not only one day or two days but for weeks, and the fruits are left rotting on the fields. In these weeks, everybody who is not drunk may pick the fruits - and the Albanian Muslims are never drunk.
- 63: The boycott lowered the participation to 70%, which proves that about 30% of the population are Albanians.
- 64: See: "The Geographer": "Albania - Yugoslavia boundary", No. 116, October 8, 1971, pg.3.
- 65: These tributaries are the Shales, Valbones and Goshit rivers.
- 66: by the Lim - Drina - Sava - Danube rivers.
- 67: Some of the Montenegrin villages still bear the Slavic name: Zagore (in the valley of Prron's Thate), Dobre (on the main road south-east of Kopliku), Stare (in Kastrati) and others.
- 68: "Per-asty" in Greek means "very steep"; the old city is in fact situated on steep rocks falling down into the bay.

Abbreviations

Cr *Croatian*

EC : *European Community*

Ge *German*

Rm *Rumanian (language)*

Se *Serbian*

SFRY: *Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia*

YPA: *Yugoslav People's Army*

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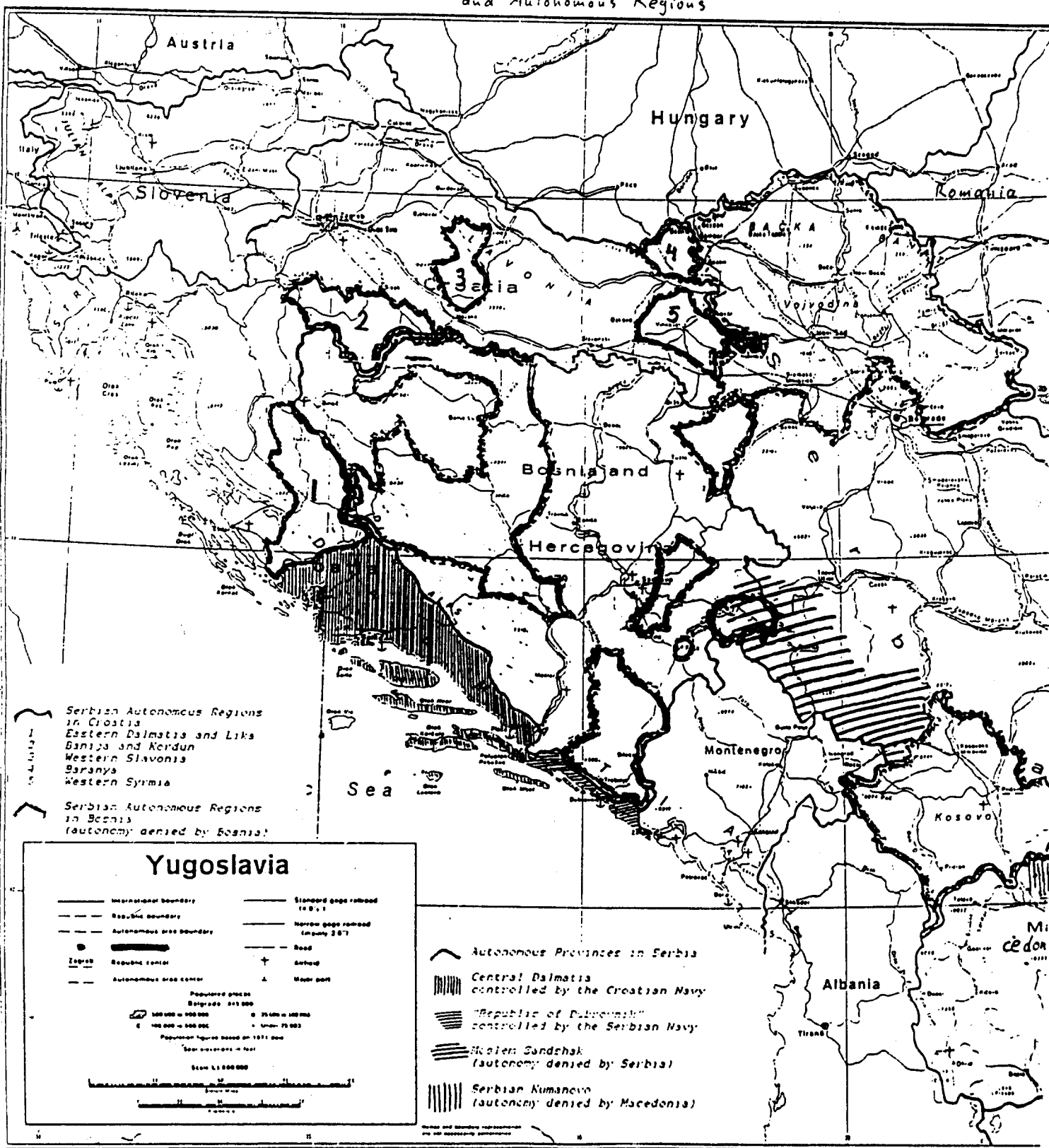
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Yugoslavia , 1:1,750.000

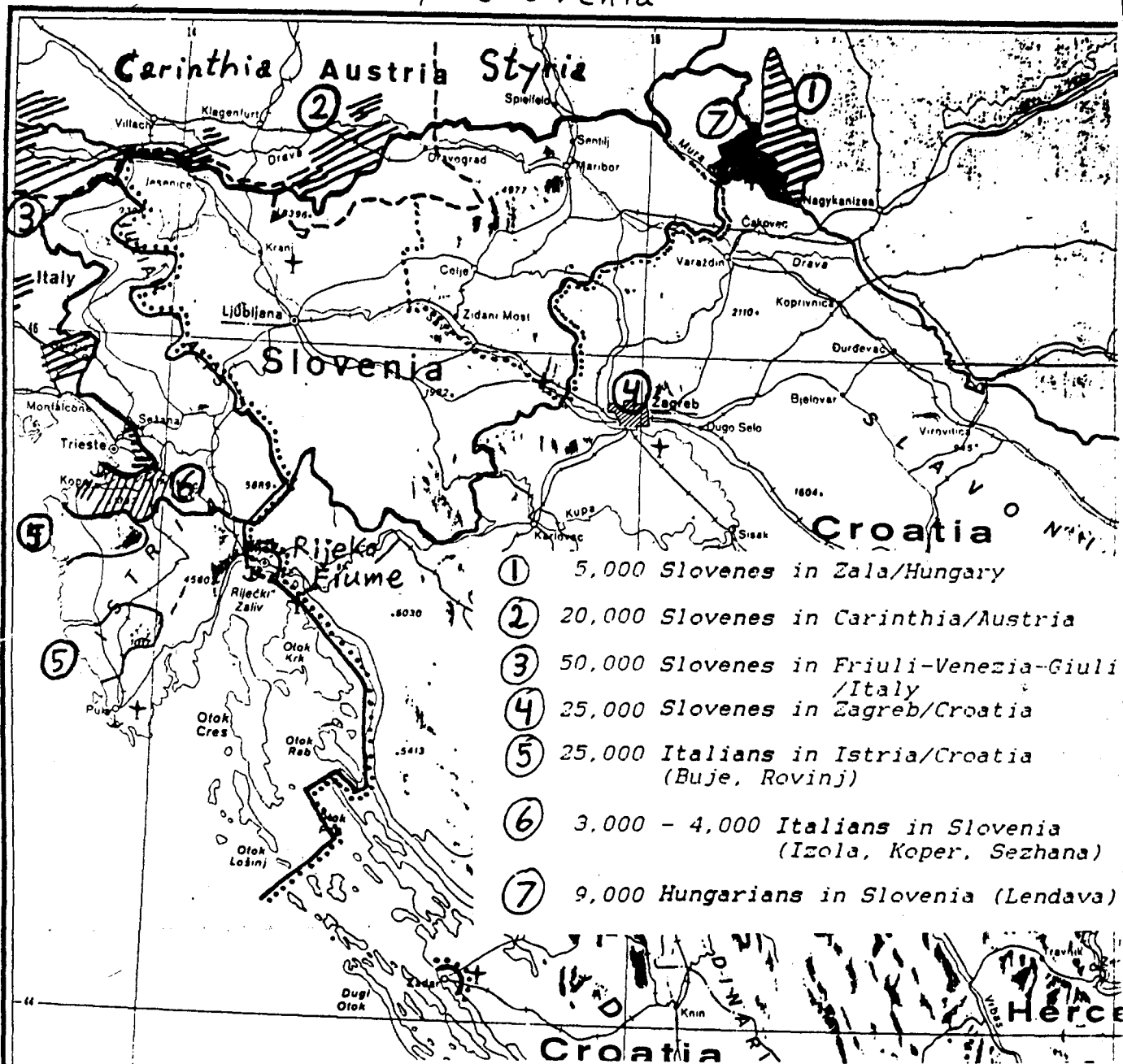
Central Intelligence Agency

Peoples of Yugoslavia 1:2,000.000

The New Borders and Autonomous Regions



The Borders of Slovenia



- ① 5,000 Slovenes in Zala/Hungary
- ② 20,000 Slovenes in Carinthia/Austria
- ③ 50,000 Slovenes in Friuli-Venezia-Giulia/Italy
- ④ 25,000 Slovenes in Zagreb/Croatia
- ⑤ 25,000 Italians in Istria/Croatia (Buje, Rovinj)
- ⑥ 3,000 - 4,000 Italians in Slovenia (Izola, Koper, Sezhan)
- ⑦ 9,000 Hungarians in Slovenia (Lendava)

~ present-day Slovene international border

--- Yugoslav-Italian border from 1920 to 1939 (Treaty of Rapallo)
 --- Rijeka/Fiume Italian since 1924

..... Border of Styria until 1919

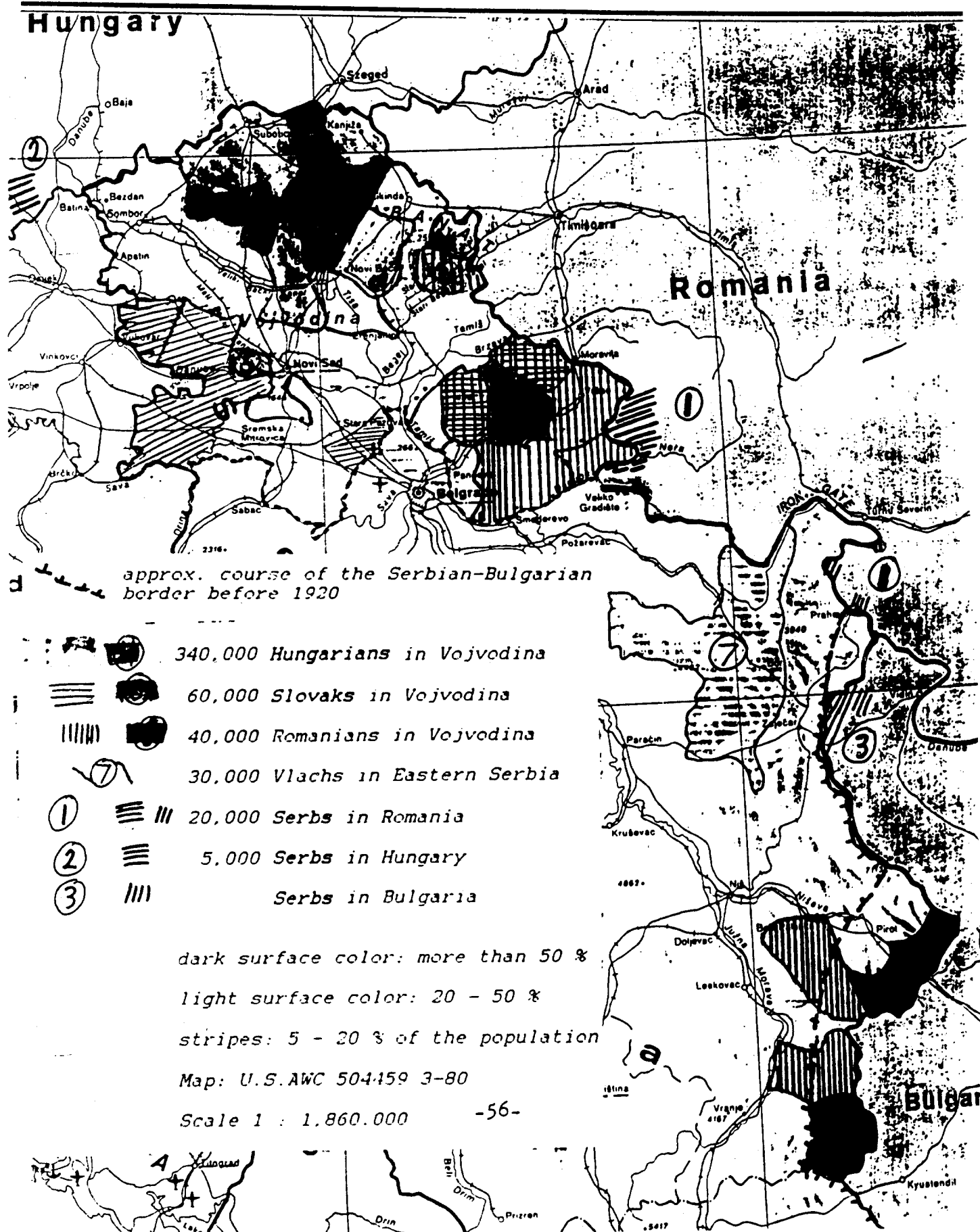
- - - - - Border of Carinthia until 1919

..... surface coloring: approx. 20 % of the population

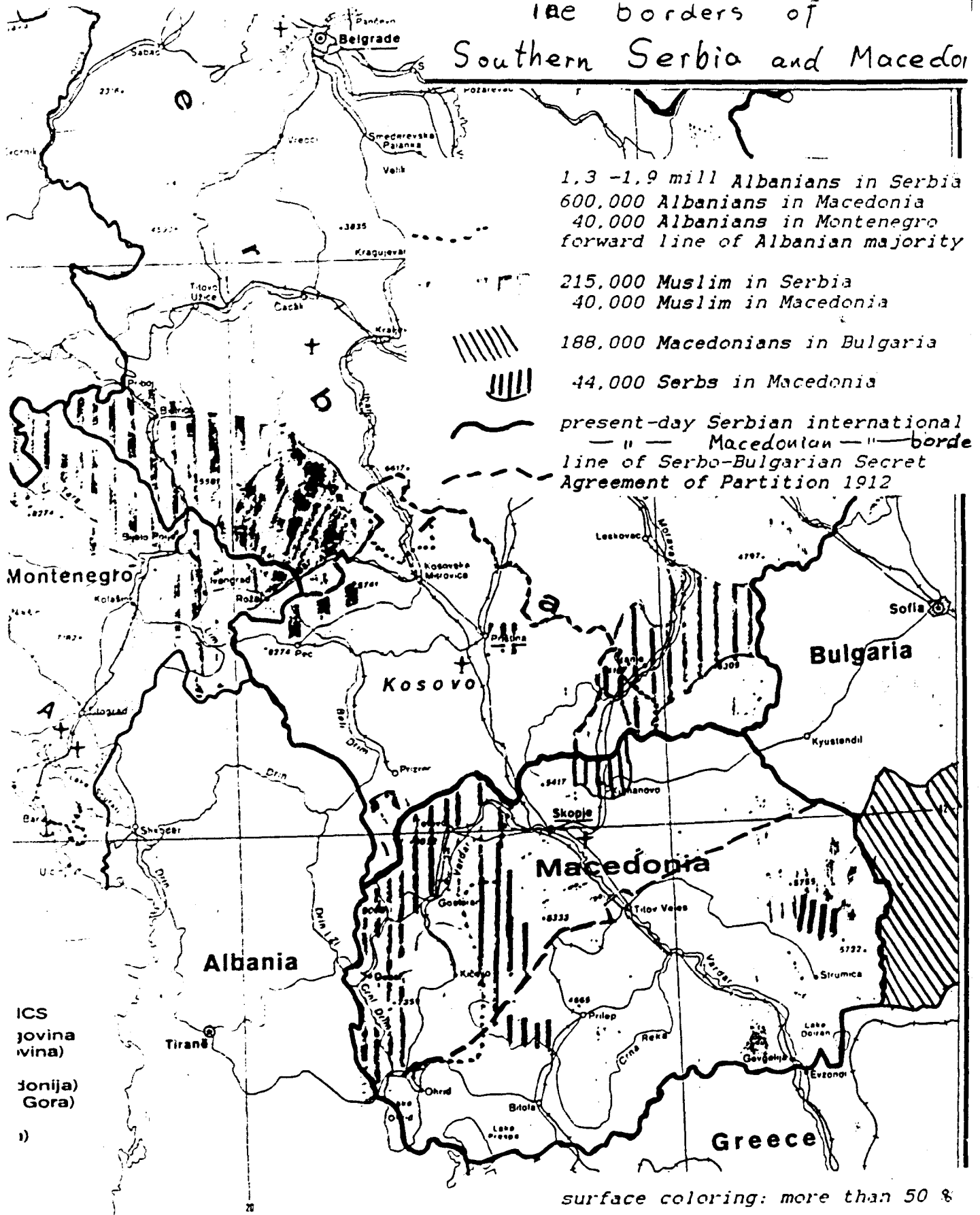
//// stripes: less than 5 % of the population

-55- Map: U.S.AWC 504459 3-80 Scale: 1:1,860,000

The Borders of Vojvodina and Eastern Serbia



the borders of Southern Serbia and Macedonia



The New Balkan Republics

REPUBLIC (genuine name)	POPULATION & SIZE	NATIONALITIES in the Republic	%	in other Countries
		*		*
SLOVENIA (Slovenija)	7,819 sqmi 1,907,000 inh.	Sl: 1,712,000 Cr: 56,000 Mu: 13,000 Hu: 9,000 It: 3,000 Ge: 2,000 others: 68,000	89.8 2.9 0.7 0.5 0.2+ 0.1+ 5.8	Slovenians: 20,000 in Au 5,000 in Hu 50,000 in It
CROATIA (Hrvatska)	21,829 sqmi 4,601,469*inh.	Cr: 3,455,000 Se: 532,000 Sl: 25,000 It: 25,000 Mu: 24,000 Al: 6,000 others: 559,000	75.1 11.6 0.5 0.5+ 0.5 0.1 11.7	Croats: 80,000 in Hu 20,000 in Au
BOSNIA (Bosna i Hercegovina)	19,741 sqmi 4,181,000 inh.	Bo: 3,709,000 Hu: 9,000 Al: 4,000 others: 459,000	88.7 0.2 0.1 11.0	
SERBIA (Srbija)	34,116 sqmi 9,403,000 inh.	Se: 6,182,000 Al: 1,303,000 Hu: 390,000 Mu: 215,000 Cr: 149,000 Mo: 147,000 Ma: 49,000 Vl: 30,000 Tu: 14,000 others: 924,000	65.8 13.9 4.2 2.3 1.6 1.6 0.4 0.3 0.1 9.8	Serbs: 5,000 in Hu 20,000 in Rm x0,000 in Bu x0,000 in Al 44,000 in Ma
MONTENEGRO (Crna Gora)	5,333 sqmi 593,000 inh.	Mo: 400,000 Mu: 78,000 Al: 38,000 Se: 19,000 Cr: 7,000 others: 51,000	67.5 13.2 6.4 3.2 1.2 8.7	Montenegr.: x,000 in Al
MACEDONIA (Makedonija)	9,928 sqmi 2,025,000 inh.	Ma: 1,279,000 Al: 377,000 Tu: 78,000 Se: 44,000 Mu: 40,000 others: 207,000	63.2 18.6 3.9 2.2 2.0 10.2	Macedonians: 188,000 in Bu 5,000 in Al

The New Balkan Republics

Sources and Remarks

Population and size according to: Encyclopedia Britannica.

Population numbers: ' estimate of 1982

@ estimate of 1984

* according to the census in 1981,
guest-workers are not separately quoted.

+ publications of communist census did not
show Italiens and Germans in Slovenia and
Croatia,

Bo: Bosnians are not quoted as Croats or
Serbs,

others: other ethnic groups not quoted,
or not separately counted,
or 'Yugoslavs'.

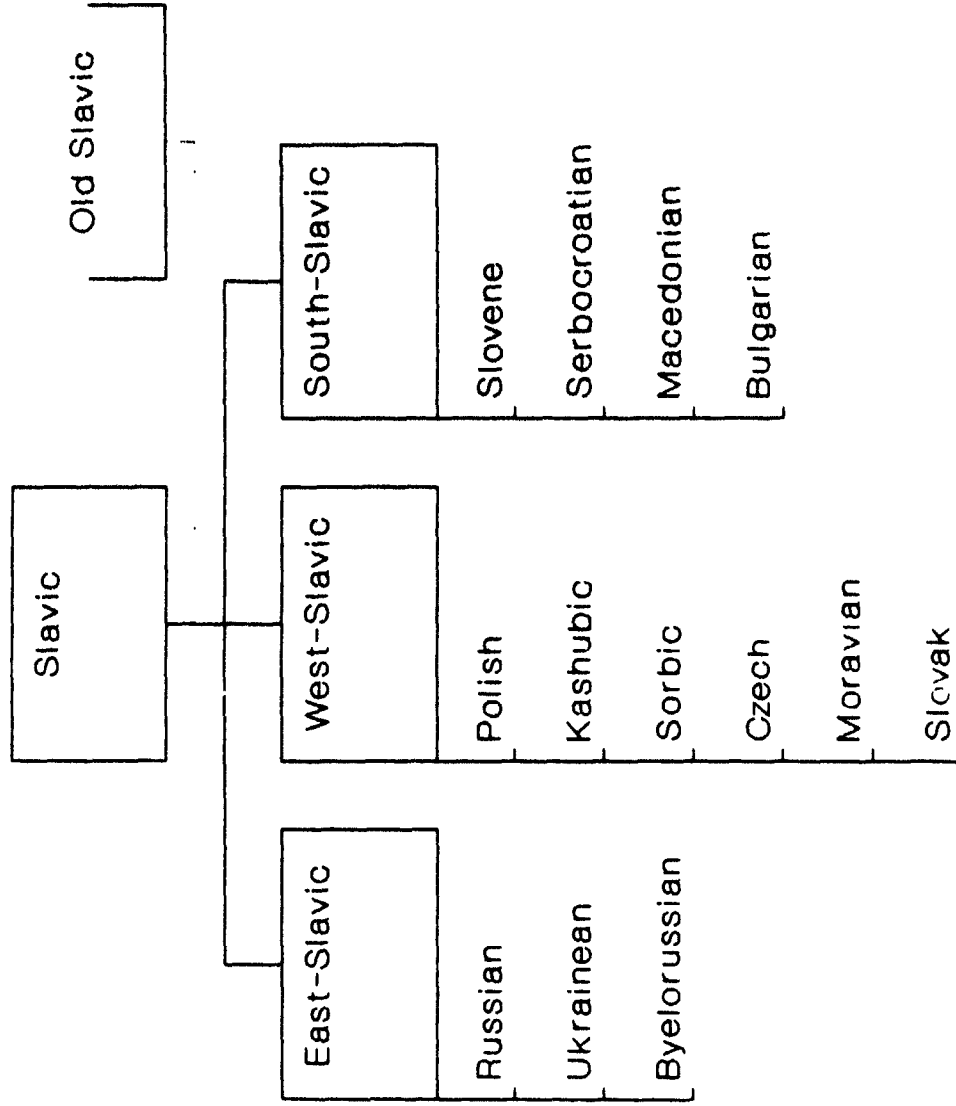
* according to: Moore, Patrick: "The
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13, 1991, pgs 29 ff.

x no exact numbers available.

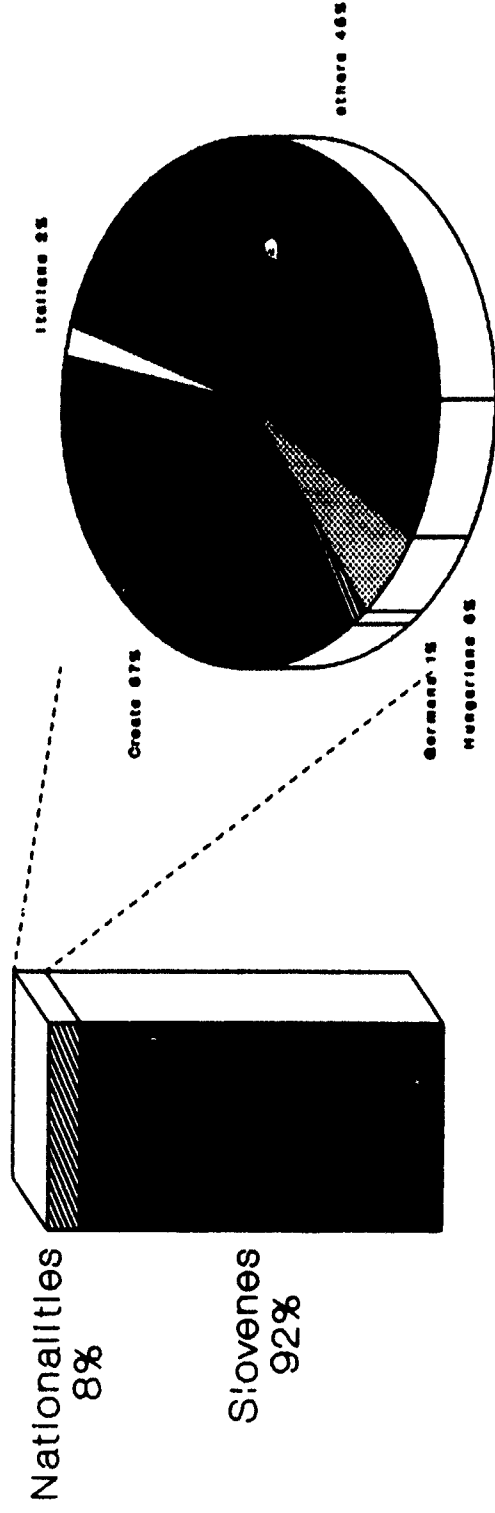
Since 1981, no official census was published. The
encyclopaedic estimate of population for 1986 is:

Slovenia	1,934.000	Serbia	5,803.000
Croatia	4,665.000	Montenegro	619.000
Bosnia	4,356.000	Macedonia	2,041.000

Slavic Languages



The Population of Slovenia

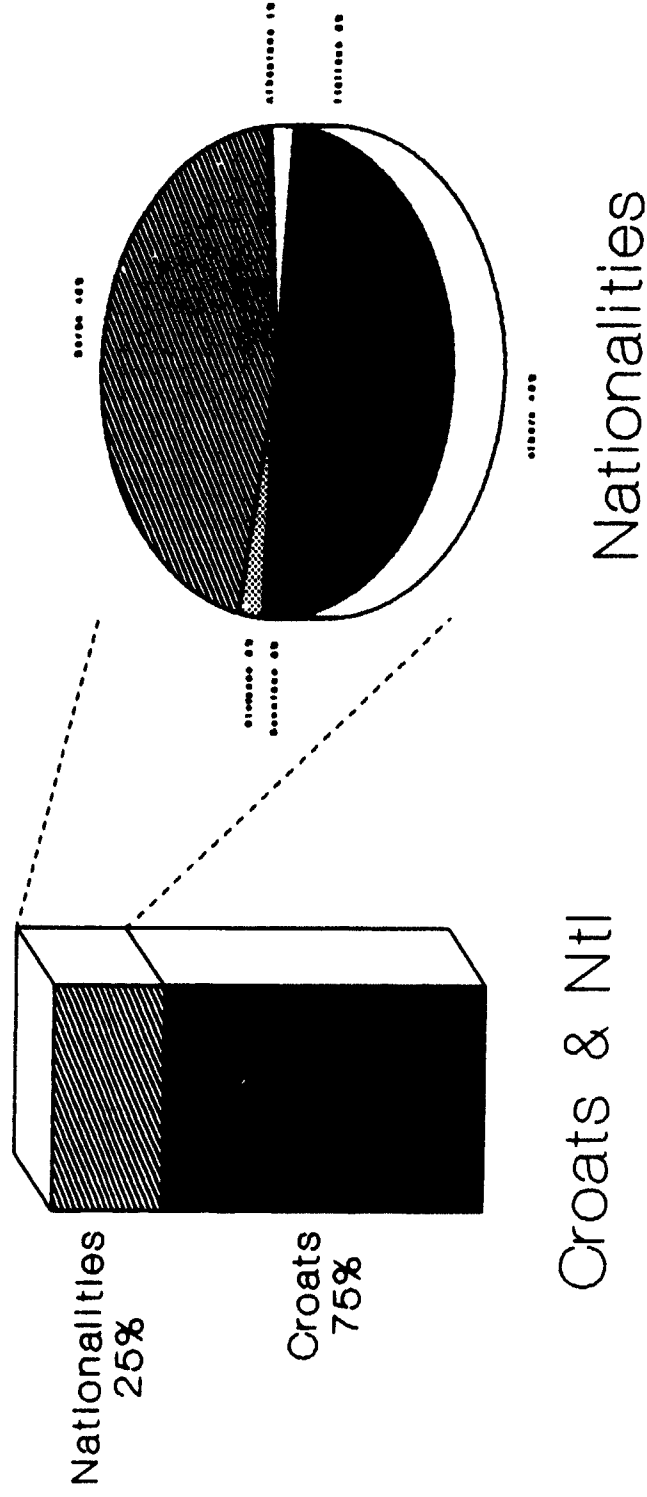


Slovenes & Nationalities

Nationalities

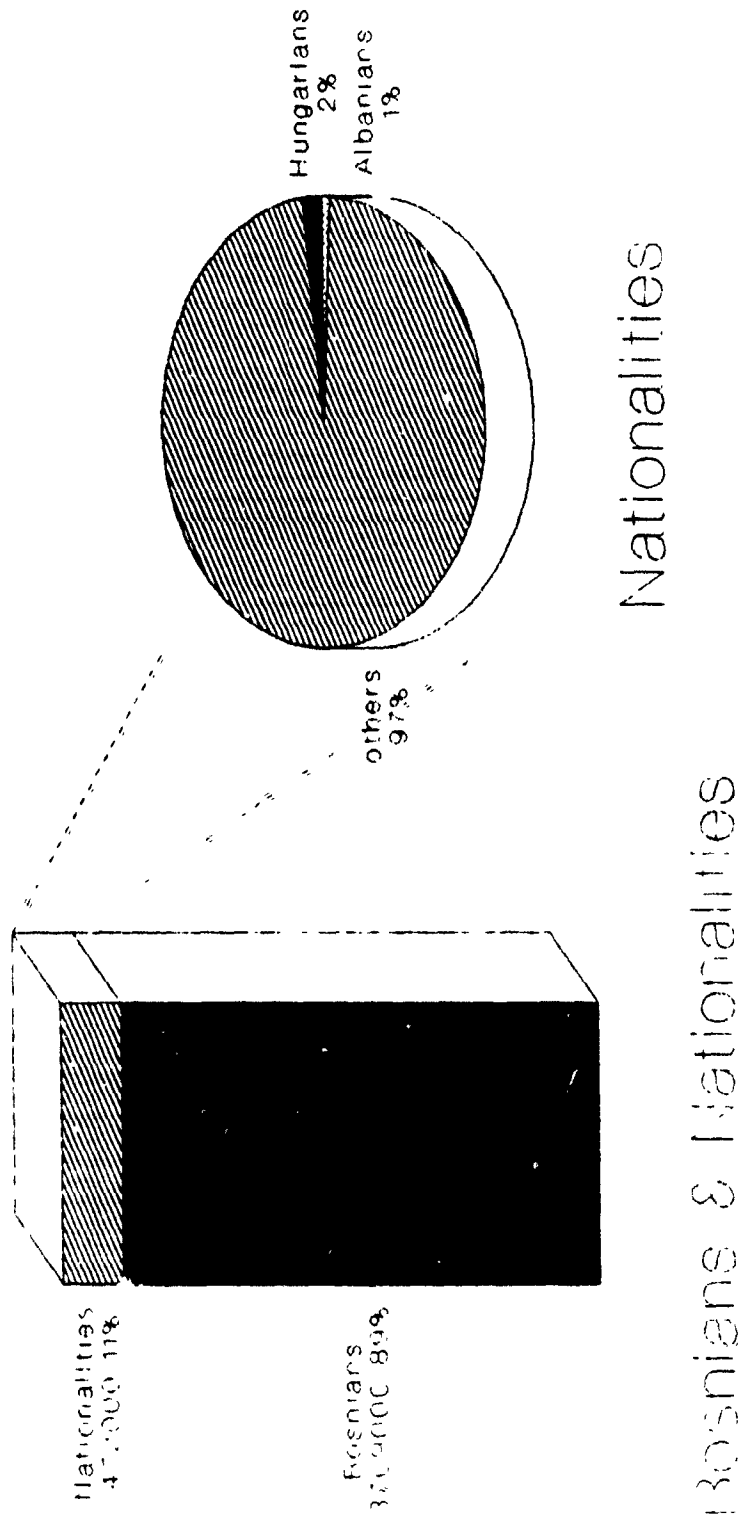
according to census of 1981

The Population of Croatia



according to census of 1981

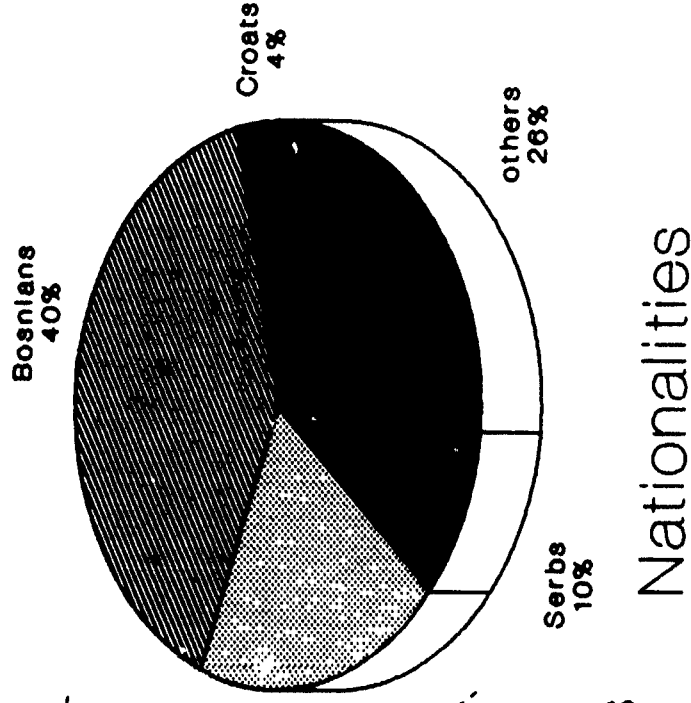
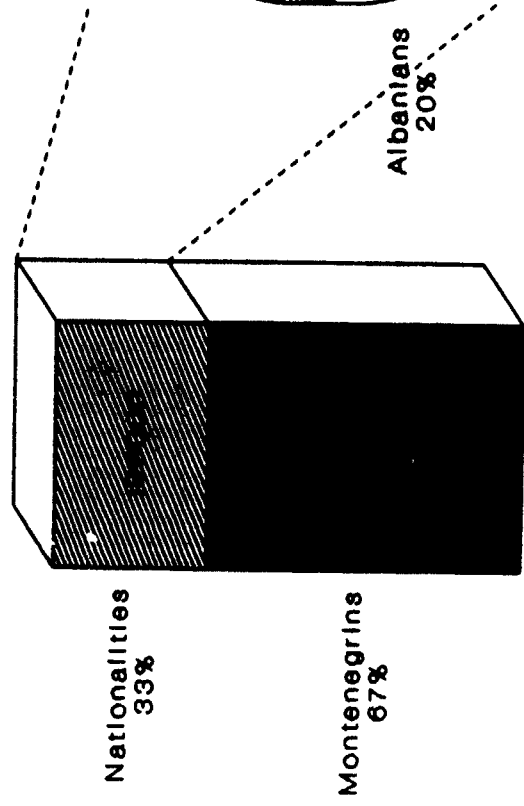
The Population of Bosnia



-63-

according to census of 1981

The Population of Montenegro

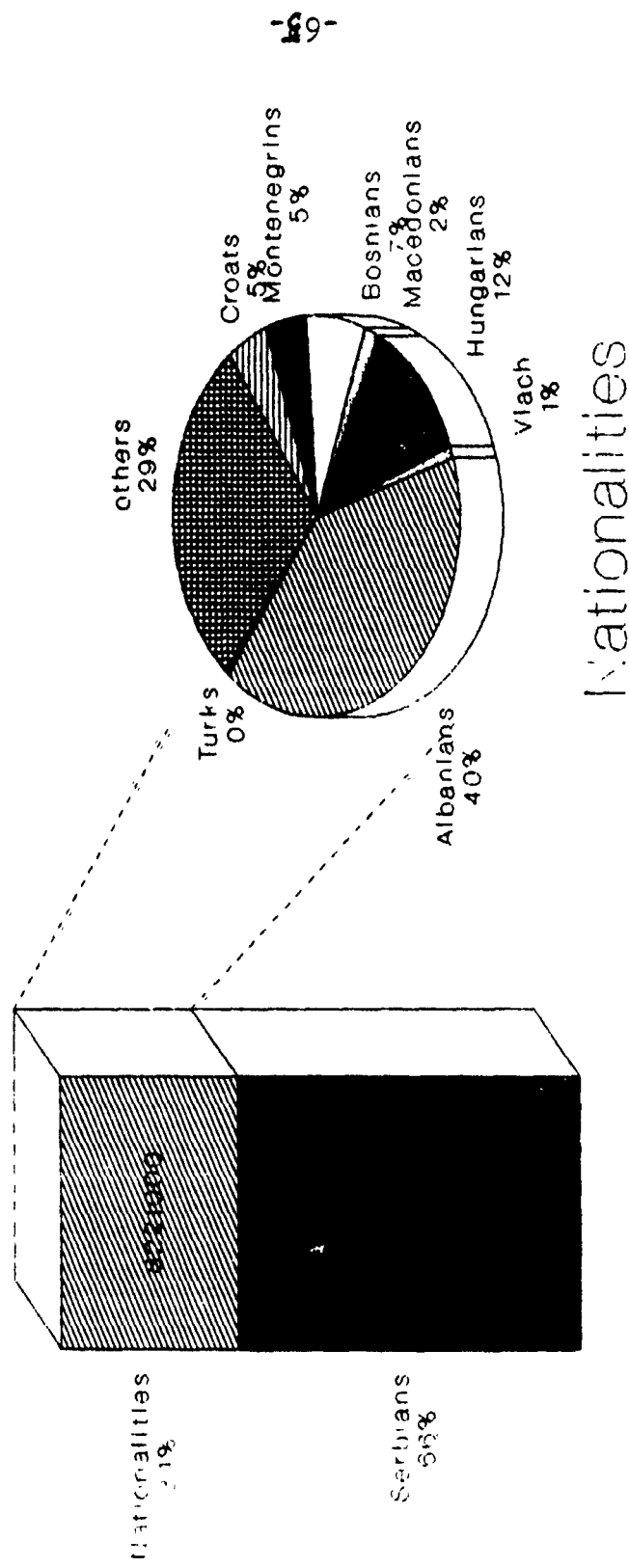


Montenegrins & Nationalities

Nationalities

according to census of 1981

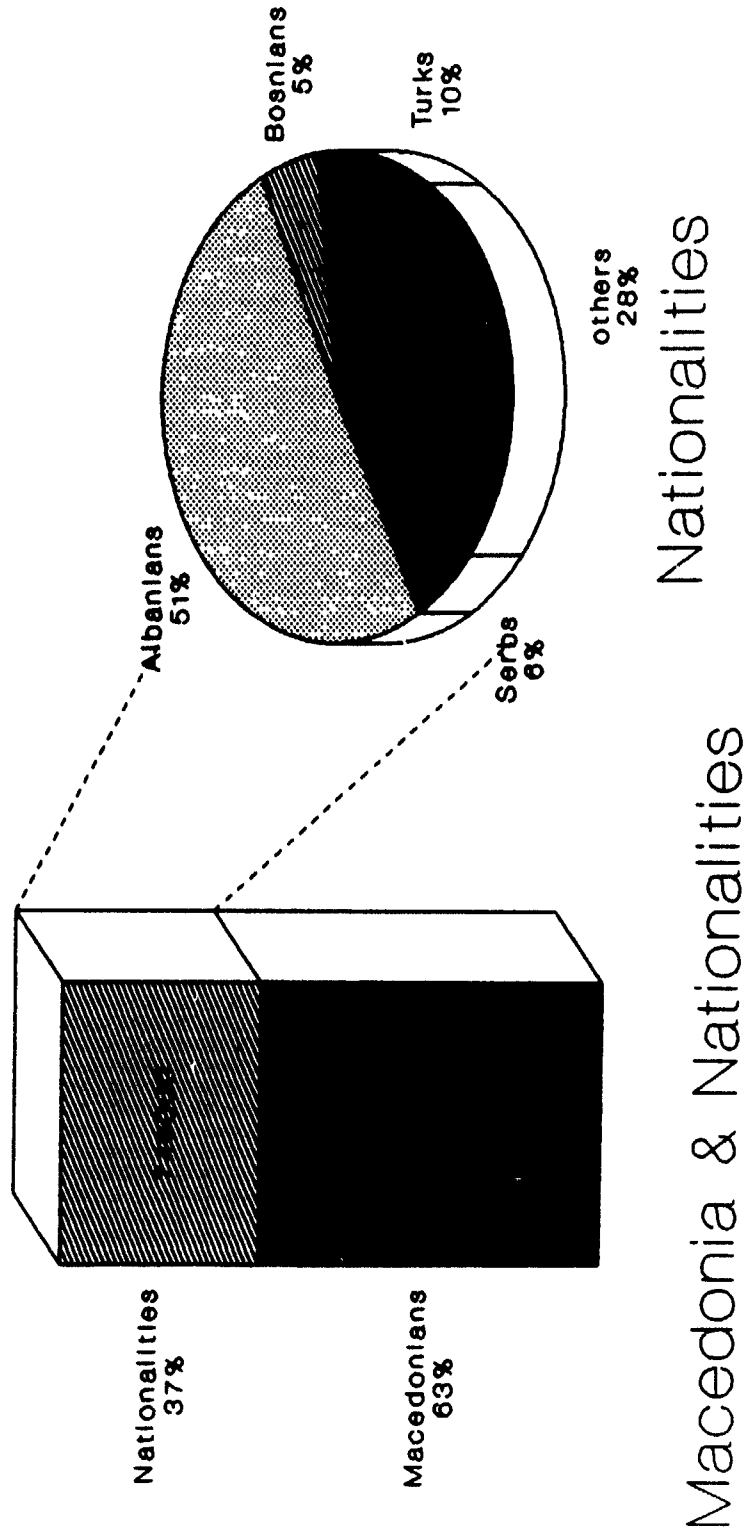
The Population of Serbia



Serbs & Nationalities

according to census of 1981

The Population of Macedonia



according to census of 1981